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JPRS L/10310

8 February 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

(FOUO 3/82)



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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CPSU'S ZAGLADIN COMMENTS ON POLISH DEVELOPMENTS

PM171501 Milan CORRIERE DELLA SERA in Italian 15 Dec 81 pp 1-2

[Maurizio Chierici report on 14 December press conference in Geneva given by Vadim Zagladin, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee international section: "Reassuring Action"]

[Excerpt] Geneva--[Question] Mr Zagladin, is the Soviet Union entirely in agreement with the action undertaken by General Jaruzelski?

[Answer] It seems to me a reassuring action. At least I hope so. Our opinion is that the situation in Poland has become untenable. There were forces determined to clash with the socialist forces. Something more than a verbal conflict was being planned. If General Jaruzelski had not taken the measures in question we might have witnessed more serious and more tragic events.

[Question] Western observers hint at Soviet Union pressure on the Warsaw Government: What is your opinion?

[Answer] There has been no pressure from us.

[Question] In your opinion, how is it possible to take decisions in any way connected with democracy at a time when the state siege is being intensified?

[Answer] First, nobody has denied the existence of trade unions. They are not prohibited. Their activity has been suspended for a while. General Jaruzelski himself has confirmed this. It is a temporary measure. It must be realized that democratic order had nothing in common with disorder recently nurtured in Poland by certain rightwing elements in Solidarity....

[Question] Only by Solidarity's right wing?

[Answer] Only by the right wing--not by all members.

[Question] Were you surprised by the proclamation of the state of siege?

[Answer] Personally, no. Perhaps I did not expect it to happen right now, but I had evidence that there were elements in Poland ready for a violent confrontation. They said that it was necessary to "hang" (we might have misheard here: "pendre")

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means "to hang" in French, but Zagladin might have said "prendre," "to take," in other words "to set aside"--CORRIERE editor's note) thousands of people...loyal to the democratic State. In view of this threat, the Government decided it was necessary to intervene.

[Question] How was this decision taken?

[Answer] It is a decision that derives from the latest Polish Communist Party [as published] plenum. All Party representatives undertook to "do something" to restore order. It was easy to imagine what would happen.

[Question] Why are you in Geneva?

[Answer] I am a member of a scientific delegation....

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POLAND

WARNING TO WEST ON POLISH EXPULSION THREAT NOTED

PM081323 London THE GUARDIAN in English 8 Jan 82 p 12

[Editorial: "When Doors Would Have to be Bolted"]

[Text] One thing is ominously certain after General Jaruzelski's meeting this week with EEC ambassadors to Warsaw. There will be, to use the general's reported phrase, "no place for Solidarity extremists in the Poland of the future." It is less than clear whether the Polish authorities were emphasising that Solidarity in its old form was dead and buried or whether, as some sources suggest, Warsaw is flirting with the idea of deporting thousands of free trade unionists and other dissidents. If the latter, then EEC governments should have a united response ready before the unfortunate detainees find themselves herded together at Warsaw Military Airport or shovelled on to troop trains ready for shipment to points West. And that response should be spelled out beyond all doubt to Poland's military dictators.

Austria's chancellor, Bruno Kreisky, who had similar harsh decisions to make when the Czechoslovakian authorities were harassing members of Charter 77, has said that he will accept any Solidarity leader who genuinely wishes to leave Poland. That is right and proper. The West can hardly condemn the Soviet Bloc for refusing exit visas to those who, like Andrei Sakharov's daughter-in-law, want out and then turn away persecuted Polish trade unionists. It would, however, be intolerable for the West to accept--or even to allow the military authorities to believe that we might accept--people unwillingly expelled from their homeland for their political beliefs. Many Solidarity activists might decide they preferred a martyred existence--harassment, unemployment or detention--to exile. That choice should be for them and them alone to make. It can be no part of the EEC objective to help General Jaruzelski rid himself from such embarrassments.

Above all, the West can be party to no deal which includes the mass expulsion of unwilling emigres as part of a so-called relaxation of tension inside Poland. If General Jaruzelski has prisoners who, he claims, wish to leave Poland and whom he wishes to be shot of [as published], then Western ambassadors should have direct and free access to them to substantiate that claim. Then, and only then, should they be granted political asylum--not, be it noted, refugee status. And the Polish Government should be told that no restrictions would be imposed upon the political activities of such exiles beyond those placed upon all of us by our countries of residence.

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POLAND

ROLE OF WALESA'S WIFE IN STRIKES REPORTED

PM181203 London DAILY EXPRESS in English 18 Dec 81 p 8

[Sue Masterman dispatch: "Walesa's Wife Stopped a Bloodbath"]

[Text] Warsaw--Lech Walesa's heavily-pregnant wife intervened to stop a blood-bath in Poland's Gdansk Shipyard it was revealed yesterday.

From inside embattled, censor-ridden Poland this is one of the facts to emerge from the last few days of crisis.

Danusia [diminutive of Danuta] Walesa, who expects her seventh child at Christmas, went to the Lenin Shipyard, birthplace of Solidarity, to appeal to sit-in workers to leave.

Her husband is interned along with up to 15,000 other Polish workers' leaders but she told the shipyard men:

"My husband is still chairman of this union. Do nothing until he gives you instructions.

"Lech has told me: 'It's hopeless. Tell them not to do it.'"

That resulted in thousands of workers obeying the Military Government's deadline of one hour to quit the yard and temporarily defuse the situation.

But thousands more are still inside.

They threw spanners and hammers at the men walking out and reports say the diehards have mined the approaches to the yard.

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POLAND

PROSECUTOR GENERAL ISSUES COMMUNIQUE ON STRIKES

PM221427 London THE GUARDIAN in English 22 Dec 81 pp 1, 18

[Report by Michael Simmons: "Warsaw Admits to Continuing Strikes"]

[Excerpt] A communique from the Prosecutor General's office yesterday listed activists indicted in eight areas for organising strikes and made the first public reference to attempted sabotage. Two Solidarity members in northern Koszalin were accused of pouring glue into packing machines and removing transmission belts in a match plant.

It seemed last night that the authorities were trying to give the impression there could be some easing of martial law.

Mr Wieslaw Gornicki, an adviser to General Jaruzelski, was quoted yesterday as saying that he could not envisage a future for Poland without Solidarity. And [he] could not imagine Mr Walesa, the Solidarity leader, coming to any harm, while one of the military leaders, General Mieczyslaw Debicki, said martial law might be repealed in provinces or regions where the situation was becoming normally organised.

Reports from Hungary last night indicated that Mr Walesa might be removed from his present place of detention to the custody of the Church.

There were also reports that the curfew had been relaxed by a couple of hours in a number of areas, that midnight Mass would be allowed in some churches, and that a ban on travel was being lifted for people over 60.

But these were only pinpricks of light. The Roman Catholic Church now apparently bears the brunt of the authorities' wrath. Reports reaching London last night said that priests had been beaten or arrested.

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POLAND

UK 'RESIDENT' DESCRIBES SITUATION IN POZNAN

PM231303 London THE GUARDIAN in English 23 Dec 81 p 5

[Report "from a correspondent," who is described as "a British resident in Poznan who left on Monday": "'Suicide Pacts Mark the Country's Desperation'"]

[Text] Walls which 10 days ago were festooned with posters of protest and union demands are now blank, the posters having been removed by the public under the supervision of armed policemen.

Desperation is displayed in the reports of miners' families in the Silesian mines and the dockers in the Gdansk Shipyard barricading themselves in the docks with more than 100 acetylene bottles and threatening to ignite them.

Solidarity members report widespread suicide pacts in factories throughout the country.

In Poznan, the Cegielski Metal Plant has become a bed of unrest. At the beginning of the week, the presence of military guards at 15-yard intervals maintained a superficial calm.

However, by last Thursday there were widespread rumours of ambulances ferrying casualties to hospitals. The number of casualties is difficult to ascertain because beaten workers are taken to private homes for treatment. Government figures are extremely unreliable.

At the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan, more than 1,000 arrests have taken place. Among these are Solidarity officials, students, and members of staff. One department has had one in 15 members of its staff detained, and the Biology Department has been told that it should destroy its experimental animals because they will not be needed. On Friday, a rectors' meeting was broken up by military guards waving machine guns.

Last Wednesday, the anniversary of the Gdansk food riots in 1970 was accompanied by silent protest in churchyards. In Poznan, the monument erected in the summer was the meeting place for more than 100 people who lit candles in the memory of those killed. From across the street the police and military watched the ceremony, which passed peacefully.

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Reports of incidents in the country are often carried by lorry and train drivers who retain their Solidarity allegiance despite their militarisation. Civilian movements have been greatly reduced. Poznan has been surrounded by tanks, and the Army patrols the main roads. Trains arrive unannounced and leave quickly in an effort to confuse attempts to travel.

Armed guards and plain-clothed secret policemen patrol all stations. We witnessed several arrests. People approached us with letters to relatives outside the country, but often they were warded off openly by secret policemen.

Secret contact has also provided the only clue to the detention centres of those arrested. In the Poznan region women are detained in Gniezno, men in military barracks to the south and priests in the northwest. No clue was proved [provided] about their health, although it is believed that they have no heating.

In Poznan, Solidarity has uncovered deep infiltration by three cells of secret police. Two of these are said to have been broken up while the third is regrouping. The depths of infiltration displayed the advanced planning for the military takeover. One Solidarity member suggested that the planning began in September 1980.

Allowing the Union to survive, he said, was not an experiment for the Polish authorities, but a conscious exercise in bringing to the surface the dissident elements in the country. However, with troops reported to have sided with workers in Lublin, the military takeover has not been without flaws.

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SOLIDARITY COFOUNDER INTERVIEWED ON PROSPECTS IN POLAND

PM091651 Paris L'EXPRESS in French 11 Dec 81 p 56

[Interview with Karol Modzelewski "One of Solidarity's founding members," by Christian Jelen and Branko Lazitch: "Poland: Who Governs?"--date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] According to General Jaruzelski, the strikes are responsible for the aggravation of the crisis. What is your view?

[Answer] The hours lost through strikes are insignificant compared with the time wasted by the lack of raw materials and spare parts. The reasons for the aggravation of the crisis lie elsewhere.

[Question] Where?

[Answer] The Party has not been in control of society since the Gdansk events (August 1980). But it is very difficult to find a modus vivendi between a society which is run according to democratic principles and a government which clings to totalitarian traditions. The Government is having no effect. It is incapable of administering.

[Question] How can administration be restored?

[Answer] By self-government reform in the enterprises, free elections to municipal and regional councils and giving those councils a greater role in local administration.

[Question] Does that not amount to suicide for the Party?

[Answer] No. It is the limitation of an omnipotence which, in any case, is completely fictional. Reforms are vital. People cannot tolerate the present situation for much longer without some hope that their survival can be guaranteed by credible and effective institutions.

[Question] Is Jaruzelski seeking compromise?

[Answer] He would like to find a solution which guarantees some political stability.

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[Question] What is stopping him from doing that?

[Answer] Obstacles within the leadership apparatus, but Jaruzelski has more room to maneuver than Kania: He controls the Army, is chairman of the council and is Party secretary. His meeting with Walesa and Monsignor Glemp proves a desire to compromise. But personal contacts are not enough. No coalition will be viable if the regime's structures remain intact. Hitherto Solidarity and the Government have each sought their own solutions. Solidarity does not have adequate machinery for management and administration. The Government has failed.

[Question] What remains of the Party?

[Answer] The apparatus is trying to preserve its privileges. But the working class grassroots are disappointed. The Party's ordinary members are sending back their cards in vast numbers. Since August 1980 the drop in membership runs into hundreds of thousands. This is especially true since threats to use force against Solidarity were made by Political Bureau members this Fall.

[Question] How can this deadlock be broken?

[Answer] The Government has finally accepted the existence of autonomous forces in society. It must also allow them a share in management.

[Question] But will the Russians tolerate that?

[Answer] That is the basis of the historical compromise reached in Gdansk in August 1980. In view of their international policy, I do not think that the Russians stand to gain from intervening in Poland at present. Moreover, they have made that fairly clear both through Kremlin spokesman Zamyatin and in their recent letter to the Polish Party, when they called for an end to demonstrations of "anti-Sovietism" without passing judgment on the situation as a whole. In my view that means that the USSR is resigned to giving us some room to maneuver. But it is doing so on the implicit conditions that the Party keeps control of political power, the Army, police, foreign policy and international communications. These demands are not incompatible with the reforms Solidarity is demanding.

[Question] During the recent Sejm debate on self-government, pro-Government Catholic deputies and non-Party deputies disobeyed the PZPR and it backed down. What is the political significance of this event?

[Answer] Parliament is a facade which covers the monopoly of power with an appearance of national unity. When a law is passed solely by the communists' automatic majority, it means that the party is isolated, even among its satellites. That is why it backed down.

[Question] Supporting the Government cooperates with society: How long will it take to start overcoming the crisis?

[Answer] Around 3 years. What we must do immediately is to prevent the crisis turning into a catastrophe.

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[Question] How do your friends view the new political situation in France, with the communists' entry into government?

[Answer] Since there are communist ministers in a democratic government, people sometimes ask: Why could there not be democratic ministers in a Communist government in Warsaw?

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POLISH PARTY, SOLIDARITY OFFICIALS CITED

PM091233 Turin LA STAMPA in Italian 6 Dec 81 p 3

[Bernardo Valli dispatch: "Poland: Two Faces, A Single Fear"]

[Text] Warsaw--I made a brief journey through the two opposing alignments in 1981 Poland. My first stop was at the Party, which has lost strength and prestige but is kept (condemned to remain) in power by a higher will--a party sometimes aggressive out of necessity ("I move, therefore I exist"). My second stop was at the trade union, the major social movement of "aware citizens," grandiose in its thrusts but uncertain of its objectives. A friend in Warsaw recommended that I read as a guide "Considerations on the Government of Poland," written two centuries ago by Rousseau. Even then the author of the "social contract" described this country as "valiant and indomitable," without an economy, always internally divided and always threatened from outside.

There was a single picture on the wall: a portrait of Karl Marx. In view of the rapid succession of party secretaries, politically wasted by events one after the other, the occupant of this Central Committee office prefers to play safe. There are no superfluous photographs. My interlocutor is a leader who, like many other East European political leaders, has suffered an evolutionary neurosis: He was a liberal, then orthodox, and now I have the impression that he is persisting in that direction. The latest traumatic effects of Polish history have distanced him more and more from his initial stances.

[Question] Following the 4 November meeting here in Warsaw of General Jaruzelski, Archbishop Glemp and Lech Walesa, have the conditions been created for a compromise between Party and trade union, with the Church's outside approval?

[Answer] The situation is difficult, very bad. A mass political force has been born in the country, led by men without a rational view of the national and international situation....

[Question] Are you talking about Solidarity?

[Answer] That force stemmed from a conflict with the State and is split into various tendencies. This has been apparent since the 4 November meeting. Walesa declared himself willing to negotiate the front of national accord, whereas the Commission

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(Solidarity's "parliament"--LA STAMPA editor's note) has, on the whole, shown itself more intransigent. They are men who emerged during a conflict and who are not inclined toward rationality. The Church does have a rational view of the situation.

[Question] Do you in the Party constitute a tight-knit force?

[Answer] Our latest congress took place in the open, and everyone was able to see that an open debate was conducted.

[Question] After that interlude the Party clammed up again, however. In any case, it has shown itself so weak as to have to choose a soldier as its first secretary. Having lost its credibility, it has taken refuge behind the respectability of a man in uniform. Is that not so?

[Answer] Of course the Army is respectable. But it is not our last resort, as you suggest. The Army is one of the components of the system that has not been eroded by the crisis. It is true that the Party has lost prestige, thanks to the tribulations of 35 years in power, but when it held its congress the entire country followed the debate attentively and realized our importance. Moreover, Jaruzelski is not just a soldier. I know him. He is an intellectual Party activist.

[Question] You have suffered a cruel decline.

[Answer] We are and will remain a decisive force on the political plane. It cannot be otherwise.

[Question] The "front" that you propose is not so very new, in fact. You have created so many "fronts" in the East European socialist countries. The trade union is afraid of meeting the same fate as the other forces swallowed up by the authorities over the decades by means of such formulas.

[Answer] The "council" that we are proposing must be a center of consultation among the various tendencies, must have its own statute, and is necessary if we are to emerge from the political and economic crisis. The country is tired, exhausted.

[Question] But the vast majority of the country is represented by Solidarity. According to a recent poll, over 96 percent of it.

[Answer] Our principle with regard to the front of national accord is similar to the one formulated by Kadar: Whoever is not opposed to socialism is with us; whoever is opposed to socialism cannot be with us. [answer ends]

Basically, according to my interlocutor, the Party wants to isolate the tendencies regarded as "antisocialist"; in other words, to split Solidarity. It is an idea which other leaders consider dangerous, because it could lead to "civil war." This latter expression is one that often recurs in Warsaw. In other words, not everyone thinks of the same thing, namely the Party, when they think of the need for a compromise, though everyone considers it necessary "to emerge from the crisis." Contradictory decisions are emerging from this internal conflict: On the one hand negotiations are being started, while on the other bills are being submitted to the Sejm with the aim of restricting the rights to strike and of assembly--emergency laws.

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In the next offices of the regime that I visited there are no portraits on the walls. They have all been removed. This was the official headquarters of the Planning Institute. This is where economic power should be exercised, but the economists responsible for planning acknowledge that the situation has been beyond their control for some time.

"It is a disaster," one authoritative planner exclaimed, referring to the Polish economy. He is a member of both the Party and Solidarity. His heart is split two ways. He spoke very frankly: "The conflict within the Party is a harsh one. Weighty accusations are bandied about at meetings. I am expecting some surprises any day now."

[Question] Is anybody sincerely willing to reach an honest compromise with the trade union?

[Answer] Some people are. But others incline toward restoration. They want to regain the broad portions of power that have been lost and to restore the Party's prestige. In the economic field an understanding between Solidarity and the Party is not impossible, since everyone realizes that it is necessary to emerge from the crisis and that the country cannot stand the sacrifices for long.

[Question] What about the political field?

[Answer] I doubt that it will prove possible to reach an agreement. While there are people in the Party who want a restoration, there are people in the trade union who want to achieve their final objective at once--the country's complete independence and a pluralistic system. They are two irreconcilable stances. [answer ends]

In Gdansk, the Solidarity trade union has its headquarters in the Old Sailors' Hostel, occupied immediately after the August strikes. The depressing order that reigns in the offices of the official government in Warsaw is transformed here into a great disorder. It is difficult to hold a conversation without being interrupted. Walesa's adversaries no longer come to this shabby headquarters. Two historical leaders no longer meet. Andrzej Gwiazda, the engineer, is still to be seen in the city, in a cafe or a friend's house. He is nonreligious and considers Walesa a capitulationist moderate, a servant of the clergy. Anna Walentynowicz, the Lenin Shipyard worker, has been expelled from all Solidarity bodies and considers herself persecuted by Walesa and by Jaruzelski. I summarize in a single anonymous dialogue here everything that I learned in Gdansk from Walesa's friends and enemies.

[Question] Who represents the trade union's most intransigent wing?

[Answer] The workers' grassroots. It is above all the factories and the mines that reject the Party's leading role, that demand free elections, strict monitoring of the Militia and secret police, an end to ideological impositions on the economy, and independence of the USSR.

[Question] Has the economic crisis not worn people down?

[Answer] Yes. But the blame for the economic difficulties is attributed to the regime. The crisis is becoming a confrontation. The sacrifices being suffered

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sometimes assume the character of a resistance. Not for everyone, it is true. And this is why the trade union does not make excessive use of strikes and is trying to calm the grassroots.

[Question] Can the major tendencies within Solidarity be defined?

[Answer] There is a socialist or social democratic and a nationalist tendency. But the split is not so clear cut. The major tendencies are split into currents. The socialist or social democratic tendency is overrun by both nonreligious and Catholic currents. Solidarity reflects society and society provides a complete range of opinions, from right to left.

[Question] What about Walesa?

[Answer] Lech undoubtedly has charisma. Personally, he is a nationalist populist; a Catholic who heeds the bishops, particularly Primate Glemp, and, therefore, also the Pope. He is also advised by a number of socialist and social democratic Catholics. He is both moderate and impetuous. He has common sense, and people know that there are honest and sensible people behind him. He reflects many contradictions. His language is certainly not Marxist, nor is his education. But at the same time he does express egalitarian ideas. He does not want bosses but is in favor of a market economy. And he is a patriot. His simple, direct words are liked in a country tired of the regime's sophisms, the Party's false rhetoric. If he is confused, it is because the objectives are often confused.

[Question] What about the nationalists?

[Answer] They are very strong. There are the liberal ones--those belonging to the "young Poland" group, for instance--who are willing to accept a kind of Finlandization of Poland, and those of the KPN, the Confederation for an Independent Poland, who want a complete break with the Soviet Union. The KPN leaders are in prison and this is why, or partly why, their sympathizers are multiplying.

[Question] At present are the moderates or the intransigents prevalent within the trade union?

[Answer] The moderates in the trade union leadership; in the grassroots, it is difficult to say.

[Question] Is a compromise more likely than an open conflict?

[Answer] A compromise is by nature temporary. A confrontation could prove inevitable in time.

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POLAND

SPANISH MAGAZINE INTERVIEWS MINISTER KRZAK

PM111325 Madrid CAMBIO 16 in Spanish 7 Dec 81 pp 99-101

[Interview with Marian Krzak, Polish minister of finance, by Victor M. Ferreras: "A Polish Self-criticism"--date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] Polish Minister of Finance Mr Krzak is a stout man who laughs easily, is close to 50 years of age, is genial, has a sense of humor, and does not lack a certain sarcasm. He has worked since 1958 in the Ministry of Finance, where he has been chief of the Coordination Department, undersecretary, and minister since August 1980. He is an economist and a member of the Polish United Workers' Party [PZPR].

Cambio 16: How was the present situation reached, and when will Poland emerge from this crisis?

Marian Krzak: The principal cause was the mistaken economic policy of the last decade. In the first place, agriculture was greatly underestimated by our paying excessive attention to industry. There were periods during which one-third of the national income was earmarked for the latter. Excessive investments were made, and several problems arose. The first was the over-extension of the investments. Another problem was that these investments were based on imports from Western countries. And they were not profitable, since they were not productive or self-financing. In addition, the policy of fixed prices for agricultural produce continued to be maintained. The State was subsidizing them increasingly, and the low prices paid to the peasants were curbing output.

Cambio 16: And cannot these shortcomings be corrected in socialist planning?

Marian Krzak: Yes. And in fact this was done, but badly, the State always attempts to ensure that state subsidies are not too high. It attempts to find the ideal prices for purchasing produce from the peasants. There was a change in prices in the 1970's, and the peasants ceased to be interested in raising animals. Let us say that what they were paid did not remunerate them. And for this reason over 3 million pigs were lost.

Cambio 16: How will real production costs be calculated following the economic reform?

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Marian Krzak: There is a paradox in Poland, and that is that raw materials are showing a deficit. An example: The official price of coal is 500 zlotys per ton. Since the tourist exchange rate of the dollar is 30 zlotys, this means that the price of a ton of coal is just over \$15, and the world price \$80 per ton. With the economic reform, the basic prices of raw materials will be set in accordance with the world price, and so the price of a ton of coal will be approximately 2,400 zlotys.

Cambio 16: Is Poland prepared to withstand the political consequences of joining the IMF?

Marian Krzak: Since our economy is heading toward a market economy, this means that it is in accordance with the IMF's requirements. It confirms the direction which we wish to take. We could say that our aims coincide. Since the Poles are Distrustful, it will be a good thing if they listen to the IMF representatives, since they do not listen to the Government, even though it is saying the same thing.... I say this rather as a joke, of course.

Cambio 16: Could the zloty become a convertible currency?

Marian Krzak: In the long term, yes. Next year, Polish enterprises will have the right to keep part of their income in foreign currency. Moreover, they will be able to purchase foreign currency through the bank Handlowy [the Commercial Bank], in accordance with the profits made through exports. Enterprises which have foreign currency will be able to use it and lend it or sell it to other enterprises.

Cambio 16: Will there be investment of foreign Western capital in Poland?

Marian Krzak: This possibility is envisaged. And there is some investment, although on a small scale. In view of the crisis. We have many opportunities for production which we intend to exploit, and if foreign capital wishes to assist us, it will be well received.

Cambio 16: And would this not create any problems with any Warsaw Pact ally?

Marian Krzak: No, not at all. It is our affair.

Cambio 16: Will there be more private enterprise in Poland?

Marian Krzak: Yes. We want a large part of the population to engage in small business.

Cambio 16: But the law does not allow enterprises with over five or six employees; is that not so?

Marian Krzak: The existing laws are in fact inflexible, but we will seek to make them less so. I personally believe that there could be enterprises with 20 or 30 people. We are very anxious that there should be enterprises of that kind--state-owned, private, or as cooperatives.

Cambio 16: Do you not believe that there is concealed unemployment in Poland and that it will increase even further with the new stabilization plan?

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Marian Krzak: It depends on how self-government works, either the workers set wages lower and they all work, or fewer workers work and they set wages higher. Currently, there is no unemployment in Poland, and if that phenomenon emerged, the government would intervene. The fact is that in some enterprises it is difficult to know who is working and who is not....

Cambio 16: Do you like Solidarity?

Marian Krzak: I would say that I tolerate it. I sympathize with Solidarity's grassroots because I know what they want and I understand them. But when it comes to its leaders, my feelings are different, because I do not know what they are thinking. I believe that some day history will judge them.

Cambio 16: And do you not believe that you are bound to reach an understanding?

Marian Krzak: Yes, I believe that we are bound to reach an understanding. But what I am not sure about is whether they wish to understand us. I am currently holding a series of talks with Solidarity, and we have the same language, although I am never certain whether they do not speak in two languages. But they, too, are inseparable sons of socialism.

Sometimes they say impossible things. For instance, they want the economy to be a market economy, and at the same time they disseminate the slogan that prices must be frozen. They wish to discuss prices and wages, and that is too much. As we say, they wish to have the pleasure without losing their virginity.

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POLAND

BRIEFS

SOVIET INVASION UNLIKELY--Danish and Swedish military experts, who are well placed to watch developments, yesterday reacted cautiously to a report that a Soviet-led invasion of Poland was being prepared for Boxing Day. They consider that there has been no appreciable increase in the readiness of Warsaw Pact forces encircling Poland since martial law was imposed 10 days ago. Mr Jakob [Jakub] Swiecicki, the chief of the Solidarity Information Office being established in Stockholm, earlier quoted a source with "especially good relations with the Polish establishment, including the Soviet Embassy in Warsaw," as saying that Red Army units were preparing to strike against coastal cities in the North, while Czech troops were poised to move into Southern Poland. Asked whether the likelihood of bitter resistance by the Poles was a deterrent to military intervention, Mr Swiecicki said: "That argument could still be valid. I am not saying an invasion is very likely, but I am afraid the possibility is more imaginable now due to new elements in the situation--the split in the Communist Party, rivalry between the generals, and discontent in the Polish Army." The Swedes have not sighted movements in the Southern Baltic that could point to a big assault on Poland, and nothing comparable to last August's huge Soviet naval build-up. [Text] [PM241212 London THE GUARDIAN in English 24 Dec 81 p 5] [COPYRIGHT: Guardian Newspapers Limited, 24 December 1981]

DEATHS IN WARSAW--A Cornish radio "ham" said last night that he had heard from Poland that 50 people were shot dead in Warsaw yesterday. Mr James Irish, of Scorrier, near Truro, said an un-named fellow enthusiast broadcasting from Poland told him he wanted the information passed on to the British Government. His informant, who spoke in English with a slight accent, gave no further details and switched off soon after, saying he was afraid a detector van might catch him. [Text] [PM241217 London THE GUARDIAN in English 24 Dec 81 p 5] [COPYRIGHT: Guardian Newspapers Limited, 24 December 1981]

WALESA ENDS HUNGER STRIKE--The 2-week strike at the Silesian anthracite mine at Piast finally ended yesterday, according to Warsaw Radio and the remaining 1,034 miners agreed to return to the surface. It was also learned that Mr Lech Walesa, Solidarity's leader, has been persuaded by his friends, including high Church officials, to abandon a hunger strike. They want him to conserve his strength for further attempts to save Poland's independent trade union from the course of systematic destruction on which the martial law authorities have embarked. Confirmation that Mr Walesa had been persuaded to end his fast came from unofficial, but trusted sources. [Excerpt] [PM291235 London THE GUARDIAN in English 29 Dec 81 pp 1, 18] [COPYRIGHT: Guardian Newspapers Limited, 29 December 1981]

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